

A
R E V I E W
O F
Bishop *Burnet's*
H I S T O R Y
Of his Own Times;

Particularly, his CHARACTERS
and Secret MEMOIRS.

W I T H
CRITICAL REMARKS.

S H E W I N G
The Partiality, Inconsistency, and Defects
of that Political History.

By a GENTLEMAN.

L O N D O N,

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A
SHORT REVIEW
OF
Bishop *Burnet's*
HISTORY.

THE late Bishop *Burnet*, having written an elaborate *History of his own Times*, which is just now publish'd, and therein shewn, in many of his Characters, even of the greatest Personages, a Contempt of Human Nature not easy to be parallel'd ; I hope it will not be a Crime unpardonable, if I presume to take some Liberty with this Reverend Writer, who has taken so great a Licence with Mankind.

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The Character of this Right Reverend Author, is indeed Great and Considerable, and sufficient to guard his Memory from the Attacks and Scrutinies of envious Scribes, and malignant Libellers ; but where Truth and Publick Zeal, are the only Motives to Reflections and Remarks on his political Writings, the Case is undoubtedly quite otherwise : And I am confident, even his Friends and Advocates must so far agree with me, as to allow his Fame would not have suffered, if he had omitted at least some part of his History.

If the want of Style in some places, and Method in the whole, are Defects in an Historian ; if different Accounts of the same Men and Things, in different places, can be call'd Inconsistencies ; if the Report of others, mostly *Chit-Chat*, be so much Hear-say as to be beneath History ; if, in some Instances, Characters that all Men can contradict, or justly find fault with, are in any degree partial ; and if particular Encomiums and Praises of a Man's self, at the Cost and Abuse of others, be in any respect vain : I am sorry to find they are so nearly ally'd to a Right Reverend Prelate.

His *History of the Reformation*, is truly a Glorious and Excellent Work ; a Work of great Labour, Learning, and Ingenuity : But his *History of his own Times*, is, for the most part, as trifling, insignificant, and defective,
as

as the other is apparently strong and excellently well wrote. This shews his Judgment was better of Things that were pass'd, where he had Recourse to the Writings of others, than of any thing which occur'd to his own Observation, wherein he had no Guide for his Conduct : And what has prevail'd on me, beyond any other Consideration, to take notice of the last-mention'd History, is, that a Bishop should write so voluminous a Narrative, in defence of the Revolution, which rescu'd this Nation from Slavery, and be at the same time so very inconsistent as to calumniate and asperse the great Hand and Instrument of our Deliverance, the Immortal King *William*.

On this Character I build my Reflections, which can by no means bear the face of Disaffection : The Bishop's Zeal I every where approve of ; but not always his particular Use of it. And, to come to the Task I have undertaken, I shall here examine his History throughout, and make proper Remarks as concisely as may be, with a Spirit becoming one who has a due Regard to open Truth and real Sincerity.

The Preface to this extraordinary History is full of the vain Solemnity of Self-Praise, which I shall take more exact notice of in the Close of my Remarks. And where he is not commending himself, he falls heavily upon the Clergy ; even with this notable In-

consistence, where, in *pag. 3.* he takes upon him to say, That his Zeal for the Interest of the Clergy made him severe upon them.

In *pag. 9.* he says, That King *James I.* set up Bishops in *Scotland*, when he had no Revenues to give them, but what he was to purchase for them : And yet in the same Page, even in the following Words of the same Sentence, he allows, that all Tythes, and the Church Lands, were vested in the Crown : but 'tis true, he insinuates it was only in order to the granting them away to the Men about him, that bore the greatest Sway. And this he mentions, to bring in by the Neck and Shoulders his favouring the Papists of *Scotland*, and hating the *Kirk*.

He has indeed, in this Page, a short Paragraph of curious History ; where he tells us, this King was exceedingly careful to secure to himself the Body of the *English* Nation ; which was manag'd by his Ambassador *Bruce*, a younger Brother of a noble Family in *Scotland*, who carried the Matter with such Address and Secrecy, that all the Great Men in *England*, without knowing of one another's doing it, and without Queen *Elizabeth's* suspecting any thing concerning it, sign'd an Agreement in Writing, to assert and stand by the King of *Scots* Right of Succession to the Crown of *England*. This, in his Minister, was acting the part of a great Statesman, and thorough Politician.

We find in *pag.* 10. a short Character of Bishops, which runs thus : The Bishops themselves did their Parts very ill. They generally grew haughty : They neglected their Functions, and were often at Court, and lost all Esteem with the People. Here he attacks his Right Reverend Brethren ; and I would fain ask him, were he now living, Whether this Character would not as well fit some other Times, and some other Dignitaries, as those he is writing of ? In another place, speaking of the Clergy in general, he says, they were such a Set of Men, so ignorant, and so very scandalous, that it was not possible to support them.

Tho' the above Censure of the Historian may be in some measure just, as to some particular Clergymen, in most Ages of the World ; yet surely it cannot be so with respect to the whole Body of the Clergy, which the Bishop plainly points out. But it may be politically urg'd, to bring over a Party of Men to his side, whose Libertine Principles make them ready to swallow and esteem any Scandal against the Priesthood.

Page 17. has a Character of K. *James I.* which is the following : His Reign in *England* was a continued Course of mean Practices. The first Condemnation of Sir *Walter Raleigh* was very black : But the executing him after so many Years, and after an Employment that had been given him,
was

was counted a barbarous sacrificing him to the *Spaniards*. The Rise and Fall of the Earl of *Somerset*, and the swift Progress of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Greatness, were things that expos'd him to all the World. The great Figure the Crown of *England* had made in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, who had render'd herself the Arbiter of *Christendom*, and was the Wonder of the Age, was so much eclipsed, if not quite darkened during this Reign, that King *James* was become the Scorn of the Age : And while hungry Writers flatter'd him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a Pendant, without true Judgment, Courage or Steadiness, subject to his Favourites, and delivered up to the Counsels, or rather the Corruption of *Spain*.

This general political Character is pretty just of this King ; but then the Bishop, who wrote a History of the *Reformation*, should have been so impartial as to have told us, It was, notwithstanding, in this Reign, that the Laws against Priests and Jesuits were confirmed, and several Statutes enacted against Popish Recusants, who were prohibited to bear Offices, and under divers Incapacities ; besides a great many other good Laws for the Government of the Kingdom, and Welfare of the People.

In the *Pages* 30. and 47. there is this Character of King *Charles* I. He loved high and rough

rough Methods, but had neither the Skill to conduct them, nor the Height of Genius to manage them. He hated all that offered prudent and moderate Counsels : He thought it flowed from a Meanness of Spirit, and a Care to preserve themselves by sacrificing his Authority, or from Republican Principles : And even when he saw it was necessary to follow such Advices, yet he hated those that gave them. His Reign, both in Peace and War, was a continual Series of Errors : So that it does not appear, that he had a true Judgment of Things. He was out of measure set on following his Humour, but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chiefly to the Queen. He had too high a Notion of the Regal Power, and thought that every Opposition to it was Rebellion. He minded little Things too much, and was more concerned in the drawing of a Paper, than in fighting a Battle. He had a firm Aversion to Popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between Protestants and Papists, by which he lost the one, without gaining the other. His engaging the Duke of *Roban* in the War of *Rochelle*, and then assisting him so poorly, and forsaking him at last, gave an ill Opinion of him to all the Protestants abroad.

Thus the Bishop has depainted the Character of a Prince, who for his Piety, Humanity, and personal Virtues, was inferior
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to none ; and tho he might err, as all Princes have done, yet his Reign was so far from being a continual Series of Errors, that he fell not a Sacrifice to them, or to his want of Judgment, but to a tyrannical hypocritical Faction, by none surpassed, if ever equalled.

We now come to *Cromwell's* Principles and Maxims. In *pag. 42. Cromwell*, in a Conference with the *Scots*, who were for preserving sacred the Person of *K. Charles I.* from the binding Quality of their Covenant, by which they swore they would be faithful in the Preservation of his Majesty's Person, after a long Discourse of the Nature of Regal Power, thus argued : He thought a Breach of Trust in a King ought to be punished more than any other Crime whatsoever : He said, as to their Covenant, they swore to the Preservation of the King's Person in Defence of the true Religion : If then it appeared that the Settlement of the true Religion was obstructed by the King, so that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their Oath could not bind them to the preserving him any longer. He said also, their Covenant did bind them to bring all Malignants, Incendiaries, and Enemies to the Cause, to condign Punishment : And was not this to be executed impartially ? What were all those on whom publick Justice had been
done,

done, but small Offenders acting by Commission from the King, who was therefore the Principal, and so the most Guilty?

In pag. 65. the Bishop inserts some of the Maxims of *Cromwell*: He there says, when he first assumed the Government, he had three great Parties of the Nation all against him, the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Republican Party. The last was the most set on his Ruin, looking on him as the Person that had perfidiously broke the House of Commons, and was setting up for himself. He had none to rely on but the Army; yet that Enthusiastick Temper, that he had taken so much pains to raise among them, made them very intractable. Many of the chief Officers were broken and imprisoned by him; and he flattered the rest the best he could: He went on in his old way of long and dark Discourses, Sermons, and Prayers. As to the Cavalier Party, he was afraid both of Assassination, and other Plottings from them. As to the former of these, he took a Method that proved very effectual: He said often and openly, that in a War it was necessary to return upon any Side all the violent things that any of the one Side did to the other. This was done for preventing greater Mischief, and for bringing Men to fair War: Therefore, he said, Assassinations were such detestable things, that he would never begin them; but if a-

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ny of the King's Party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating War of it, and destroy the whole Family : And he pretended he had Instruments to execute it, whensoever he should give Order for it. The Terror of this, was a better Security to him than his Guards.

I have mentioned these two Paragraphs to shew the Politicks of *Cromwell*, and the Inconsistency of them : In the first of them he is for murdering the King, and putting him out of the way ; in the latter he declares against Assassinations and violent Things ! But indeed this is in his own Case : And who doubts he had not Instruments unlawfully to return any just Attempts that should be made on his Government, when he had the Army of his Side ? Then besides, who can easily believe that the Presbyterian and Republican Parties could be so much set against *Cromwell* ? But this the Bishop credits, from the Report of others, to illustrate the Difficulties the Usurper had to encounter, and help build up the Character of a King-killing Protector.

Pag. 43. of the Bishop's History, informs the World of an important Matter : He there gives us the first Rise of a considerable Party-word, the word *Whig*, in the following manner. He says, the *South-West* Counties of *Scotland* have seldom Corn enough to
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serve round the Year ; and the *Northern* Parts producing more than they need, those in the *West* come in the Summer to buy at *Leith* the Stores that come from the *North* : And from a word *Whiggam*, used in driving their Horses, all that drove were called the *Whiggamors*, and shorter the *Whigs*. Now in that Year (1648) after the News came down of Duke *Hamilton's* Defeat, the Ministers animated their People to rise, and march to *Edinburgh* : And they came up, marching on the Head of their Parishes, with unheard-of Fury, Praying and Preaching all the way as they came. The Marquis of *Argyle* and his Party came and headed them, they being about six thousand. This was called the *Whiggamors Inroad* : And ever after that, all that opposed the Court, came in contempt to be called *Whigs*. And from *Scotland* the Word was brought into *England*.

These are the Bishop's own Words, as to the Rise of the Whigs ; and I think it is a very notable Piece of History. In pag. 71. he tells us how *Cromwell* first introduced the *Jews* into this Kingdom : When *Cromwell* (says the Bishop) understood what Dealers the *Jews* were every where in that Trade that depends on News, the advancing Money upon high or low Interest, in proportion to the Risque they run, or the Gain to be made as the Times might turn ;

and in the buying and selling of the Actions of Money so advanced ; he, more upon that account than in compliance with the Principle of Toleration, brought a Company of them over to *England*, and gave them leave to build a Synagogue.

Here the *Jews* are imported in this Nation as a Company of Actors, to assist the Tragedy of *Oliver's* Usurpation ; and to make them his good Friends and Spies, in gaining him Intelligence from Abroad, as well as earning their Religion at Home. Tho' nevertheless *Oliver* was a Man of very great Virtue.

In *pag. 89.* after he has complimented *Cromwell's* Administration, he consistently says, I now leave a mad and confused Scene, to open a more August and Splendid one, *viz.* the Restoration of King *Charles II.* And yet he every where suggests, that the Court of King *Charles* was to the last degree wicked : And how Wickedness can be called *August*, is difficult to determine ? But the Bishop was willing to open the Restoration, which was so great a Blessing to this Kingdom, with a kind of Flourish, whatever it afterwards suffered by his Treatment.

For *pag. 92.* he tells us, With the Restoration of the King, a Spirit of extravagant Joy spread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very Professions of Virtue and Piety : All ended in
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Entertainments and Drunkenness, which over-run the three Kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their Morals. Under the colour of drinking the King's Health, there were great Disorders and much Riot every where: And the Pretences of Religion gave great Advantages, as well as they furnished much Matter, to the prophane Mockers of true Piety.

What a monstrous Description is here, of the innocent Rejoicings of a People redeemed from the vilest Tyranny that Mankind could suffer, and restored to their lawful injured King! There is no doubt but their Joy was excessive and unbounded on so great and glorious an Event; but 'twas only for a Time, and had no Influence in corrupting their Morals. And is not Joy on all such Occasions extravagant? But this Spirit of Joy in the People, it seems, did not please the Bishop.

Having taken this Liberty with the People, let us see what Freedom he takes with King *Charles*, whose Character follows, and is thus: The King was then thirty Years of Age, and, as might have been suppos'd, past the Levities of Youth, and the Extravagance of Pleasure. He had a very good Understanding. He knew well the State of Affairs both at Home and Abroad. He had a Softness of Temper that charmed all who came near him, 'till they found how
little

little they could depend on good Looks, kind Words, and fair Promises ; in which he was liberal to excess, because he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of Importunities, and to silence all farther pressing upon him. He seemed to have no Sense of Religion : Both at Prayers and Sacrament he, as it were, took care to satisfy People, that he was in no sort concerned in that about which he was employ'd. So that he was very far from being an Hypocrite, unless his assisting at those Performances was a sort of Hypocrisy, (as no doubt it was) but he was sure not to encrease that by any the least Appearance of Religion. He disguis'd his Popery to the last. But when he talk'd freely, he could not help letting himself out against the Liberty that under the Reformation all Men took of enquiring into Matters of Religion ; for from their Enquiry into Matters of Religion, they carried the Humour farther, to enquire into Matters of State. He said often, He thought Government was a much safer and easier thing where the Authority was believ'd infallible, and the Faith and Submission of the People was implicit. He was affable and easy, and lov'd to be made so by all about him. The great Art of keeping him long, was, the being easy, and the making every thing easy to him. He had made such Observations on the *French* Government, that he thought a King, who might

might be check'd, or have his Ministers called to an Account by a Parliament, was but a King in Name. He had much Compass of Knowledge, tho' he was never capable of much Application or Study. He understood the Mechanicks and Physick; and was a good Chymist, and much set on several Preparations of Mercury, chiefly the fixing it. He understood Navigation well: But above all, he knew the Architecture of Ships so perfectly, that in that respect he was exact rather more than became a Prince. His Apprehension was quick, and his Memory good. He was an everlasting Talker. He told his Stories with a good Grace: But they came in his way too often. He had a very ill Opinion both of Men and Women; and did not think that there was either Sincerity or Chastity in the World out of Principle, but that some had either the one or the other out of Humour or Vanity. He thought that no body did serve him out of Love: And so he was quits with all the World, and loved others as little as he thought they loved him. He hated Business, and could not be easily brought to mind any: But when it was necessary, and he was set to it, he would stay as long as his Ministers had work for him. The Ruin of his Reign, and of all his Affairs, was occasioned chiefly by his delivering himself up, at his first coming over, to a mad Range of Pleasure.

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This is the modest and ingenuous Character given by the Right Reverend Prelate of King *Charles II.* And in *pag. 612.* after exhibiting a long Catalogue of Crimes against this Prince, and repeating the worst part of his Character, he says, He had great Vices, without any one Virtue to correct them. He inveighs against his Reign in the most bitter and violent Terms; and because of the Calamities of the Plague, and the Fire of *London*, which the King could by no means prevent, stamps a Curse upon his Government. And as to the King's Person and Character in general, for that he was of a manly Port, and had the Lines of a *Cæsar* in his Face, he takes the Liberty to compare him to *Tiberius*. So are our politest Princes, whose Reigns are attended with Peace and Prosperity, treated when the Breath is departed their Bodies !

But let me examine this extraordinary Character a little: In the beginning, because the King was thirty Years of Age, therefore he was to be past all youthful Pleasures. *Query*, Whether all other Princes, or even virtuous Bishops, have ever been so exemplarily chaste ? Next, he was liberal in Promises, to get rid of Importunities : I thought the giving way to Promises was the Occasion of Importunities, as to their Performance ; but I find I was mistaken. He had no Sense of Religion ; this is a very masterly

masterly Stroke in a Character. Then how artfully and reputably he brings it in, that the King was no Hypocrite! He disguised his Popery to the last; this is undoubtedly meant for the Good of the Reformation; but how does it appear he was all his Life a Papist? What he says of him as to Religion and Government, makes King *Charles* a good Politician; which I did not know before. He lov'd to be made easy: And pray what Prince does not? But in him 'twas a Crime. What King would like to be check'd, if he could help it? He was a good Chymist; and that every Prince is not. It does not become a Prince to know with exactness the Architecture of Ships: I presume in this the Bishop design'd a Reflection on the Czar of *Muscovy*, who serv'd an Apprenticeship to a Shipwright. He was an everlasting Talker, and too often told merry Stories: It seems a King must not talk and be merry; this Privilege belongs only to his Subjects. He did not think there was any Sincerity in the World; and pray what Man of Sense does think it? He hated Business; but yet he would stay as long at it, as his Ministers had work for him. The Ruin of his Reign, and of all his Affairs, was owing to his airy Pleasures. O unhappy Prince! that could not be allow'd those gentle Liberties, and Pleasures in Life, which all Princes, even the Greatest, have taken; and none so liberally

as the wise Prince *Solomon*. But 'twas a Virtue in him, and all the rest; tho' a Vice in King *Charles*.

I have been a little ludicrous in handling this Character; but the Bishop has given me such fair room for it, that I could not resist the Temptation: and his Memory must excuse what his Partiality has brought upon him. In his Characters of Great Men in this Reign, he was very singular. He says, the famous Lord *Shaftesbury* was a Man of little or no Learning; yet of a great Size of Understanding; and an Astrologer: And that he was offer'd to be made King. This I am sure is new to the polite World.

In the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles*, he has long and tedious Accounts of the Affairs of *Scotland*, big with Abuses of the whole Body of the Clergy. Dr. *Tillotson*, *Stillington*, and one or two others, are the only Divines he has any where prais'd: And he frequently makes a Step from *England* to *Scotland*, and from *Scotland* to *France*, and thence back again to *England*, without any loss of Time or introductory Ceremony, and many times void of all Connexion or Coherence, to calumniate the Clergy.

In pag. 160. there is a remarkable piece of History. The King had not been many Days at *Whitehall*, when one *Venner*, a violent *Fifth-Monarchy Man*, who thought
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it was not enough to believe that Christ was to reign on Earth, and to put the Saints in the possession of the Kingdom, (an Opinion that they were all unspeakably fond of) but added to this, that the Saints were to take the Kingdom themselves. He gather'd some of the most furious of the Party to a Meeting in *Coleman-street*. There they concert-ed the Day, and the Manner of their Rising, to set Christ on his Throne, as they call'd it. But withal they meant to manage the Government in his Name; and were so formal, that they had prepar'd Standards and Colours with their Devices on them, and furnished themselves with very good Arms. But when the Day came, there was but a small Appearance, not exceeding twenty. However, they resolv'd to venture out into the Streets, and cry out, *No King but Christ*. Some of them seem'd perswaded that Christ would come down, and head them. They scoured the Streets before them, and made a great Progress: Some were afraid, and all were amaz'd at this piece of Extravagance. They kill'd a great many, but were at last master'd by numbers: And were all either kill'd, or taken and executed.

This happen'd in the Year 1660. And in the Year 1679. a dangerous Plot, call'd, *The Meal-Tub Plot*, was discovered. The Bishop's Account of it runs thus: *Danger-*

field, a subtle and dextrous Man, who had gone through all the Shapes and Practices of Roguery, undertook now to coin a Plot for the ends of the *Papists*. He was in Goal for Debt, and was in an ill Intrigue with one *Cellier*, a Popish Midwife, who had a great share of Wit, and was abandon'd to Lewdness. She got him to be brought out of Prison, and carried him to the Countess of *Powis*, a zealous managing *Papist*. He, after he had laid Matters with her, got into all Companies, and mixed with the hottest Men of the Town, and studied to engage others with himself to swear, that they had been invited to accept of Commissions, and that a new Form of Government was to be set up, and that the King and the Royal Family were to be sent away. He was carried with this Story first to the Duke of *York*, and then to the King, and had a weekly Allowance of Money, and was very kindly used by many of that side ; so that a Whisper run about Town, that some extraordinary thing would quickly break out : And he having some Correspondence with one Colonel *Mansel*, he made up a Bundle of seditious, but ill-contrived Letters, and laid them in a dark Corner of his Room : And then some Searchers were sent from the Custom-House to look for some forbidden Goods, which they heard were in *Mansell's* Chamber. There were no Goods found ;
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but, as it was laid, they found that Bundle of Letters : And upon that, a great Noise was made of a Discovery. But, upon Enquiry, it appear'd the Letters were counterfeited, and the Forger of them was suspected ; so they search'd into all *Dangerfield's* Haunts, and in one of them they found a Paper, that contained the Scheme of this whole Fiction ; which, because it was found in a Meal-Tub, came to be called the *Meal-Tub-Plot*. *Dangerfield* was upon that clapt up, and he soon after confess'd how the whole Matter was laid and managed.

Here the Bishop has given a plain Narrative of a Political *fictitious Plot*, coined for the ends of the Papiſts ; and admitting it to be true, as I believe it may, have not there been other political Plots trump'd up, in other Reigns, ſince paſt, to ſerve other purpoſes ? I take it, the Answer is eaſily made.

I now come to the Character of the Duke of *York*, afterwards King *James*. p. 168—He was very brave in his Youth, and ſo much magnified by *Monſieur Turenne*, that, till his Marriage leſſened him, he really clouded the King, and paſſed for the ſuperiour Genius. He was naturally candid and ſincere, and a firm Friend, 'till Affairs and his Religion wore out all his firſt Principles and Inclinations. He had a great Deſire to underſtand Affairs ; and in order to that, he kept a conſtant Journal of all that paſſed.

passed. He would see Things if he could; and the King could see Things if he would. He had no true Judgment, and was soon determined by those whom he Trusted; but he was obstinate against all other Advices. He was bred with high Notions of the Kingly Authority, and laid it down for a Maxim, That all who opposed the King were Rebels in their Hearts. He was perpetually in one Amour or other, without being very nice in his Choice: Upon which the King said once, He believed his Brother had his Mistresses given him by his Priests for Penance. He was naturally eager and revengeful, and was against the taking off any that set up in an Opposition to the Measures of the Court, and who by that means grew popular in the House of Commons. He was for rougher Methods. He continued for many Years dissembling his Religion, and seemed zealous for the Church of *England*; but it was chiefly on design to hinder all Propositions that tended to unite us among ourselves. He was a frugal Prince, and brought his Court into Method and Magnificence: For he had One Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year allowed him. He was made High Admiral; and he came to understand all the Concerns of the Sea very particularly. The Duke found all the great Seamen had a deep Tincture from their Education: They both hated Popery, and loved

loved Liberty: They were Men of severe Tempers, and kept good Discipline. But in order to the putting the Fleet into more confident Hands, the Duke began a Method of sending Pages of Honour, and other young Persons of Quality, to be bred to the Sea. And these were put in Command, as soon as they were capable of it, if not sooner. This discouraged many of the old Seamen, when they saw in what a Channel Advancement was like to go; who upon that left the Service, and went and commanded Merchant-men. By this means the Virtue and Discipline of the Navy is much lost. It is true, we have a Breed of many gallant Men, who do distinguish themselves in Action: But it is thought the Nation has suffered much by the Vices and Disorders of those Captains, who have risen by their Quality more than by Merit or Service.

His Character of King *James* is surprisingly more moderate and favourable than that of King *Charles*; who most certainly of the two merited the gentlest Severity. The worst part of the Character of *James* relates to his Management of the Affairs of the Admiralty; wherein the Bishop abuses all our Nobility, who have any Commands in the Royal Navy: and these I am told are not a few; but are Men of the greatest Courage, and as superiour in their Conduct
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to the other Navy-Officers, as they are in their Quality. In short, they are the Honour and Glory of our Fleet: But 'tis by their means, it seems, the Navy is sunk.

Pag. 218. after the Bishop has allowed the Victory of King *James* (when Duke of *York*) over the *Dutch* at Sea, he endeavours to blemish his Character, by censuring his Conduct in not pursuing his Victory, and making a second Attack on the *Dutch* Fleet: This was to have been done at all hazards, even to the Loss of the Reputation the Duke had acquired; and he was a Coward for beating the *Dutch*, and not beating them further: Which is as consistent as to say, the Great Duke of *Marlborough* was a great Coward, for that he did not beat the *French* over and over again in every Action during the last War, and at once drive his Enemies to the Gates of *Paris*.

We have next a Piece of Secret History, which every body knew of. In *pag. 227.* he says, A Story was set about, and generally believed, that the Earl of *Southesk*, that had married a Daughter of Duke *Hamilton's*, suspecting some Familiarities between the Duke of *York* and his Wife, had taken a sure Method to procure a Disease to himself, which he communicated to his Wife, and was by that means set round till it came to the *Dutchess*, who was so tainted with it, that it was the Occasion of the Death of
all

all her Children, except the two Daughters, our two Queens ; and was believed the Cause of an Illness, under which she languished long, and died so corrupted, that in dressing her Body, after her Death, one of her Breasts burst, being a Mass of Corruption.

Here is a Story told, with Additions, to convince the World all the Dutchess's Children were dead of the foul Disease, except the two Queens ; and that They, were so touched with its Dregs, that One of them had violent Humours in her Eyes, and the Other the Gout very early. Then what a lamentable Account is it of the Sufferings of the poor Dutchess, who was innocent of the whole Affair ! But this is not all : He tells us Lord *Southesk* was for some Years not ill-pleased to have this believed ; and yet in the next Line there is this notable Assertion : But I know he has to some of his Friends denied the whole of the Story very solemnly. How well these agree together, I leave others to judge.

In *pag.* 310, 314, &c. the Bishop gives us an Account of the great Crisis's, as he calls them, of the Protestant Religion. The First *Crisis* was when *Charles V.* by the defeating the Duke of *Saxony*, and the getting him and the Landgrave of *Hesse* into his hands, had subdued the *Smalcaldick* League ; in which the Strength of the Protestant Religion did then consist, having been weaken-

ed by the succeeding Deaths of *Henry VIII.* and *Francis I.* Upon that Defeat all submitted to the Emperor. The Second *Crisis* was towards the end of Queen *Mary's* Reign, when the Protestant Religion seemed extinguished in *England*, and the chief Cardinal Ministers of the *Roman* Catholick Powers designed a Peace for that very end, that their Masters might be at leisure to extirpate Heresy, which was then spreading in their Dominions. The Third *Crisis* lasted from the Year 1585, to the Year 1589. Then began the League of *France*. The Prince of *Parma* was victorious in the *Netherlands*. The Prince of *Orange* was murdered. The States fell under great Distractions. And *Spain* entered into a Design of dethroning the Queen of *England*, and putting the Queen of *Scots* in her stead. In order to that, they were for some Years preparing the greatest Fleet that the World had ever seen, which came to be called *The Invincible Armada*. The Fourth *Crisis* was from the Bat-tel of *Prague* to the Year 1630, in which not only the Elector *Palatine* fell, but almost all the Empire came under the *Austrian* Yoke. All Attempts to shake it off proved unsuccessful, and fatal to those who undertook it, till the young and great King of *Sweden*, *Gustavus Adolphus*, engaged in it. The Wars of *Rochelle*, together with the Loss of that important Place, seemed to threaten

threaten the Destruction of the Protestants of *France*. *England* fell under those unhappy Jealousies, which began a disjoining between the King and his People. And the States were much pressed by the *Spaniards* under *Spinola*. The Fifth *Crisis* was brought upon the whole Reformation, which has been of the longest Continuance (says the Bishop) since we are yet in the Agitations of it. He mentions no Year, but fixes it to the Period when the Elector of *Cologne* was prevailed on to put the *French* in possession of his Country, and to deliver himself, with all his Dominions, over into their hands. When he did that, all upon the *Rhine* were struck with such a Consternation, that there was no Spirit nor Courage left: And the King of *France* came down upon the *Dutch* like a Land-Flood, and had like to have destroyed them.

The Design of the Historian in particularizing these extraordinary Crisis's, is to manifest his Zeal for the Protestant Religion; which he is every where highly to be commended for, when he desists from unjust Reflections, and does not build it on a false Foundation. He endeavours to make out that King *Charles II.* in his Life-time, was a Papist; but he only brings it to a dark and uncertain Suspicion. But *pag.* 610. he gives us the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth's* Account as

to King *Charles's* being poisoned, near the time of his Death.

There was a strong Suspicion of the King's being poisoned by the hands of Papists. To which I shall add (says he) a very surprizing Story, that I had in *November, 1709*, from Mr. *Henley* of *Hampshire*. He told me, that when the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth* came over to *England* in the Year *1699*, he heard that ſhe had talked as if King *Charles* had been poisoned; which he deſiring to have from her own Mouth, ſhe gave him this Account of it. She was always preſſing the King to make both himſelf and his People eaſy, and to come to a full Agreement with his Parliament: And he was come to a final Reſolution of ſending away his Brother, and of calling a Parliament; which was to be executed the next day after he fell into that Fit of which he died. She was put upon the Secret, and ſpoke of it to no Perſon alive but to her Confefſor: But the Confefſor, ſhe believed, told it to ſome, who, ſeeing what was to follow, took that wicked Courſe to prevent it.

The other Affairs of this Reign, mentioned by the Biſhop, particularly the Attempts for the Excluſion of the Duke of *York*, are moſtly to be found in other Hiſtories; and being common Occurrences, they need no Remarks.

King

King *James* the I^{ld}'s Reign was happily begun, but inglorious all over. The Advantages of it were so poorly managed, and so ill improved, that bad Designs were ill laid, and worse conducted ; and all came, in Conclusion, under one of the strangest Catastrophe's that is in any History. But I thought the Catastrophe of King *Charles* I. was beyond it. In *pag.* 628. we are told of the Omens attending the King's Coronation. The Coronation was set for *St. George's* Day. Dr. *Turner* was ordered to preach the Sermon : And both King and Queen resolved to have all done in the Protestant Form, and to assist in all the Prayers : Only the King would not receive the Sacrament, which is Part of the Ceremony. In this his Priests dispensed with him, and he had such Senses given him of the Oath, that he either took it as a Sin, with a Resolution not to keep it, or he had a reserved Meaning in his own Mind. The Crown was not well fitted for the King's Head : It came down too far, and covered the upper Part of his Face. The Canopy carried over him did also break. Some other smaller Things happened, that were looked on as ill Omens ; and his Son by Mrs. *Sidley* died that Day.

Here the Crown was so ill fitted to the King's Head, that it eclipsed his Brains ; and the cracking of a slight Canopy, is very portentous : But that his Bastard should die on
that

that auspicious Day, surely this was the strongest Indication of the ill Luck that was to follow ! Here is Superstition indeed, in a Protestant Prelate !

The Bishop's Accounts of the Misconducts of this Reign ; of the Invasion of *Monmouth*, the Ecclesiastical Commission, the Cruelty of the Soldiers, *Jefferys's* Persecutions, and the Imprisonment of the Bishops, are no more than the present Age is very well acquainted with ; unless it be on his mentioning the coming over of the Prince of *Orange*, when things were push'd to the utmost Extremity, and Slavery was at our doors, wherein he is more particular than any Author I have read, of the different Views and Designs of Parties, especially concerning the great Interest that was made to settle a Regency, (which King *William* oppos'd) and not to admit of a King to succeed the abdicated Prince.

He now gives us a Narrative of his Travels to *Rome*, and other Countries ; but endeavours, as much as he can, to stifle the occasion of them, lest his own dear Reputation should suffer. He boasts a great deal on his early persuading the Princess *Mary* to agree, that her Lord and Prince should be King here, on her coming to the Crown. This, he thinks, was a Master-piece of Politicks, and a Service to the Nation, which merited a Statue of Brass ; but

he did not, when he was complimenting himself, consider that the *British* Parliament, or Convention of the States, were the only Power to work this Agreement; and, in regard to themselves, on what had happen'd, would have obliged the Princess to acquiesce in such Measures as were necessary to preserve and establish the Liberties of the People, without his Interposition.

The Page 689. contains a Character of the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, afterwards King *William* and Queen *Mary*. The Prince (*says he*) had been much neglected in his Education: For all his Life long he hated Constraint. He spoke little. He put on some Appearance of Application: But he hated Business of all sorts. Yet he hated Talking, and all House-Games, more. This put him on a perpetual Course of Hunting, to which he seem'd to give himself up, beyond any Man I ever knew: But I looked on that always, as a flying from Company and Business. The Depression of *France* was the governing Passion of his whole Life. He had no Vice, but of one sort, in which he was very cautious and secret. He had a way that was affable and obliging to the *Dutch*. But he could not bring himself to comply enough with the Temper of the *English*, his Coldness and Slowness being very contrary to the Genius of the Nation.

The Princess possessed all that conversed with her with Admiration. Her Person was Majestick, and created Respect. She had great Knowledge, with a true Understanding, and a noble Expression. There was a Sweetness in her Deportment that charmed, and an Exactness in Piety and of Virtue that made her a Pattern to all that saw her. The King gave her no Appointments to support the Dignity of a King's Daughter. Nor did he send her any Presents or Jewels; which was thought a very indecent, and certainly was a very ill-advised thing. For the settling an Allowance for her and the Prince, would have given such a Jealousy of them, that the *English* would have apprehended a secret Correspondence and Confidence between them: And the not doing it, shewed the contrary very evidently. But, tho' the Prince did not increase her Court and State upon this additional Dignity, she managed her Privy Purse so well, that she became eminent in her Charities: And the good Grace, with which she bestowed Favours, did always encrease their Value. She had read much, both in History and Divinity. And when a Course of Humours in her Eyes forc'd her from that, she set herself to work with such a constant Diligence, that she made the Ladies about her ashamed to be idle. She knew little of our Affairs, 'till I was admitted to wait on her. And I began

gan to lay before her the State of our Court, and the Intrigues in it, ever since the Restoration; which she receiv'd with great Satisfaction, and shewed true Judgment, and a good Mind, in all the Reflections that she made. I will only mention one in this place: She asked me, What had sharpened the King so much against Mr. *Jurieu*, the copiouslest and the most zealous Writer of the Age, who wrote with great Vivacity, as well as Learning. I told her, He mixed all his Books with a most virulent Acrimony of Style; and, among other Things, he had writ with great Indecency of *Mary Queen of Scots*, which cast Reflections on them that were descended from her; and was not very decent, in one that desired to be considered as zealous for the Prince and herself. She said, *Jurieu* was to support the Cause that he defended, and to expose those that persecuted it, in the best way he could. And, if what he said of *Mary Queen of Scots* was true, he was not to be blamed, who made that use of it: And, *she added*, that if Princes would do ill things, they must expect that the World will take Revenges on their Memory, since they cannot reach their Persons: That was but a small Suffering, far short of what others suffered at their Hands. So far I have given the Character of those Persons, as it appeared to me upon my first Admittance to them. I shall have occasion

to say much more of them in the Sequel of this Work.

Thus has the learned Bishop exhibited Characters of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and such Characters of them as were by no means expected from him. No body imagin'd, he would have been lavish in his Praises of a Princess of the Family of the *Stuarts*, to which Family he had hitherto shewn a settled Aversion ; nor that he would have endeavour'd to trample under foot the Glorious Fame of his Great Benefactor King *William*, who brought him over from a State of Exile. This is an Instance of the Bishop's Gratitude, as well as of his Judgment.

He tells us, that the King hated all manner of Business, and put on only an Appearance of Application : That he was cold and slow in his Temper. All this is entirely the Reverse to that Prince's known Character in the World. He was so far from shewing a Life of Indolence, that his whole Life was a continued Scene and Series of Business and Action ; of Action glorious in asserting the Rights and Liberties of Mankind. And tho' the Bishop tells us, he was in his Nature cold, and slow ; he had the warmest Heart, and the quickest Execution, in his Military Affairs, that were ever conspicuous in any Prince or General. And the Great Prince of *Conde*, a famous General of *France*, own'd,
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in a Battle he had given him, that the Prince of *Orange* had no fault in his Conduct, but his acting too much the part of a common Soldier ; which is far from being consistent with a dull, cold, and slow Disposition. In another part of the Bishop's Character, he owns, the Depression of *France* was the governing Passion of King *William* ; and yet he allows him to have no Passion, nor Life at all. He was for pulling down the Mighty *French* King, and yet hated Business and Action. These are strange Inconsistencies.

As to what he mentions, that the Prince had no Vice but one, wherein he was very cautious and secret ; I am astonish'd an Historian should record so vile and black a part of any one's Character, without producing some sort of Proof for his Justification. A Crime of such a very heinous Nature is not to be laid to a Man's door, in the common way, by Hear-say, or otherwise, without Manifestation ; or some Authority, beyond a bare Assertion. I don't suppose the Bishop was in the Secret of the Affair, to be so very positive. All Persons are amaz'd at this Treatment of King *William*. And none can pretend to give any Reason for it, unless it be a Disappointment the Bishop might have met with in satisfying his Ambition, as to his Advancement to the Metropolitan See of this Realm. He tells us at last, he shall have occasion to say more of this Prince in the Sequel

of his Work ; which, 'tis very probable, from this Specimen, may not be in his favour. Or, perhaps, the Prince, in spite of Nature, is to grow more active, and to have more Spirit, as he grows older.

He says the Prince was affable and obliging to the *Dutch* ; but he should have gone on further in his illustrious Character, and told us, he was the Delight and Darling of the *Dutch*, as well as of the *English* Nation ; which we may collect from the Bishop's Account of his parting with his Countrymen, pag. 782. which is thus : On the 16th of *October*, 1688. the Wind that had stood so long in the *West*, came to the *East*. So Orders were sent to all to haste to *Helvoet-Sluis*. That Morning the Prince went into the Assembly of the States-General, to take leave of them. He said to them, he was extreme sensible of the Kindness they had all shewed him upon many Occasions : He took God to witness, he had served them faithfully, ever since they had trusted him with the Government, and that he had never any End before his Eyes but the Good of the Country : He had pursued it always : And if at any time he erred in his Judgment, yet his Heart was ever set on procuring their Safety and Prosperity. He took God to witness, he went to *England* with no other Intentions, but those he had set out in his Declaration : He did not know how
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God might dispose of him: To his Providence he committed himself: Whatsoever might become of him, he committed to them the Care of their Country, and recommended the Princess to them in the most particular manner: He assured them, she loved their Country perfectly, and equally with her own: He hoped, that whatever might happen to him, they would still protect her, and use her as she well deserved: And so he took leave. It was a sad, but a kind Parting. Some of every Province offered at an Answer to what the Prince had said; but they all melted into Tears and Passion: So that their Speeches were much broken, very short, and extreme tender.

This is a Description of a Parting between a Prince and his People that is sufficiently moving; but yet the Prince was only affable and obliging. In *pag. 691.* he gives us an Account of the Prince's Sense of our Affairs; and afterwards, *pag. 714.* we have a long Discourse on King *James's* Declaration for Toleration in *England*; his Indignation against the Church-Party; and his Progress through many Parts of *England*: which being Matters of Speculation and Curiosity, I shall insert them as I find them.

In *April (1687.)* the King set out a Declaration of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience. In the Preamble, the King expresses his Aversion to Persecution on the account
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of Religion, and the Necessity that he found of allowing his Subjects Liberty of Conscience, in which he did not doubt of the Concurrence of his Parliament: He renew'd his Promise of maintaining the Church of *England*, as it was by Law established: But with this he suspended all penal and sanguinary Laws in Matters of Religion: And, since the Service of all his Subjects was due to him by the Laws of Nature, he declared them all equally capable of Employments, and suppressed all Oaths or Tests that limited this: In Conclusion, he promised he would maintain all his Subjects in all their Properties, and particularly in the possession of the Abbey-Lands.

This gave great Offence (says the Historian) to all true Patriots, as well as to the whole Church-Party. The King did now assume a Power of repealing Laws by his own Authority: For tho' he pretended only to suspend them, yet no Limitation was set to this Suspension; so it amounted to a Repeal, the Laws being suspended for all time to come. The Preamble, that pretended so much Love and Charity, and that condemned Persecution, sounded strangely in the Mouth of a Popish Prince. The King's Saying, that he did not doubt of the Parliament's concurring with him in this Matter, seemed ridiculous: For it was visible by all the Prorogations, that the King was but too well

well assured, that the Parliament would not concur with him in it. And the Promise to maintain the Subjects in their Possessions of the Abbey-Lands, looked as if the Design of setting up Popery was thought very near being effected, since otherwise there was no need of mentioning any such thing.

The Bishop thus comments upon the King's Declaration; then he proceeds, and says, Upon this a new Set of Addresses went round the Dissenters: And they, who had so long reproached the Church of *England*, as too courtly in their Submissions and Flatteries, seemed now to vie with them in those abject Strains. Some of them, being penned by Persons whom the Court had gained, contained severe Reflections on the Clergy, and on their Proceedings. They magnified the King's Mercy and Favour, and made great Protestations of Fidelity and Gratitude. Many promised to endeavour, that such Persons should be chosen to serve in Parliament, as should concur with the King in the enacting what he now granted so graciously. Few concurred in those Addresses; and the Persons that brought them up were mean and inconsiderable. Yet the Court was lifted up with this. The King and his Priests were delighted with these Addresses out of measure: And they seemed to think that they had gained the Nation, and had now conquered those who were hitherto their
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most irreconcilable Enemies. The King made the Cruelty of the Church of *England* the common Subject of Discourse. He reproached them for setting on so often a violent Persecution of the Dissenters. He said, he had intended to have set on this Toleration sooner; but that he was restrained by some of them, who had treated with him, and had undertaken to shew Favour to those of his Religion, provided they might be still suffered to vex the Dissenters. He named the Persons that had made those Propositions to him. In which he suffered much in his Honour: For as the Persons denied the whole Thing, so the Freedom of Discourse, in any such Treaty, ought not to have been made use of to defame them.

It is now the Bishop mauls the Dissenters, tho' they were ever his fast Friends; and he says the Addresses went round the Dissenters, yet few concurred in them, tho' the Court was very much lifted up upon it: And he here seems to make an Admiration at Persons being gained by the Court to pen Addresses, as if it were the only time any such thing had been practised. In the close, he censures the King for exposing wicked and pernicious Counsels.

He then goes on: But, to carry this further, and to give a publick and an odious Proof of the Rigour of the Ecclesiastical Courts, the King ordered an Enquiry to be made

made into all the vexatious Suits into which the Dissenters had been brought in these Courts, and into all the Compositions that they had been forced to make to redeem themselves from further Trouble; which, as was said, would have brought a scandalous Discovery of all the ill Practices of those Courts. For the Use that many that belonged to them had made of the Laws, with relation to the Dissenters, was, to draw Presents from such of them as could make them; threatening them with a Process in case they failed to do that, and upon their doing it leaving them at full liberty to neglect the Laws as much as they pleased. It was hoped at Court, that this Fury against the Church would have animated the Dissenters to turn upon the Clergy with some of that Fierceness with which they themselves had been lately treated. Some few of the hotter of the Dissenters answered their Expectations. Angry Speeches and virulent Books were published: Yet these were disowned by the wiser Men among them; and the Clergy, by a general Agreement, made no Answer to them. So that the Matter was let fall, to the great Grief of the Popish Party. Some of the Bishops, that were gained by the Court, carried their Compliance to a shameful Pitch: For they set on Addresses of Thanks to the King for the Promise he had made, in the late Declaration, of maintaining the Church of *Eng-*
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land; tho' it was visible that the Intent of it was to destroy the Church. Some few were drawn into this. But the Bishop of *Oxford* had so ill Success in his Diocese, that he got but one single Clergyman to concur with him in it. Some foolish Men retained still their old Peevishness. But the far greater part of the Clergy began to open their Eyes, and see how they had been engaged by ill-meaning Men, who were now laying off the Mask, into all the Fury that had been driven on for many Years by a Popish Party. And it was often said, that if ever God should deliver them out of the present Distress, they would keep up their Domestick Quarrels no more, which were so visibly and so artfully managed by our Enemies to make us devour one another, and so, in the end, to be consumed one of another. And when some of those, who had been always moderate, told these, who were for putting on another Temper, that they would perhaps forget this as soon as the Danger was over, they promised the contrary very solemnly. Now the Bed-Chamber and Drawing-Room were as full of Stories to the prejudice of the Clergy, as they were formerly to the prejudice of the Dissenters. It was said, they had been loyal as long as the Court was in their Interests, and was for venturing all on their account; but as soon as this changed, they changed likewise.

In this Historical Passage the Bishop falls foul on the King's Moderation and Indulgence to the Dissenters; his countenancing these People with political Views, and pulling down the Power of the Ecclesiastical Courts, was then judged criminal, whatever it has been in any other Juncture. But 'tis true, King *James* could not manage his Politicks on this Head. Some of the Bishops (it seems) that were gained by the Court, carried their Compliance to serve it to a shameful Pitch: I suppose this was never done before, nor since; nor were the Clergy ever 'till now disloyal, when their Interests were shaken.

He thus proceeds: The King seeing no hope of prevailing on his Parliament, dissolved it; but gave it out, that he would have a new one before Winter. And the Queen being advised to go to the *Bath* for her Health, the King resolved on a great Progress through some of the *Western* Counties. The King set out for his Progress, and went from *Salisbury* all round as far as to *Chester*. In the Places through which he passed, he saw a visible Coldness both in the Nobility and Gentry, which was not easily borne by a Man of his Temper. In many Places they pretended Occasions to go out of their Countries. Some staid at Home. And those who waited on the King, seemed to do it rather out of Duty and Respect, than with any cordial Affection. The King,

on his part, was very obliging to all that came near him, and most particularly to the Dissenters, and to those who had passed long under the Notion of Commonwealth's-men. He looked very graciously on all that had been of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Party. He addressed his Discourse generally to all sorts of People. He ran out on the Point of Liberty of Conscience: He said, this was the true Secret of the Greatness and Wealth of *Holland*. He was well-pleased to hear all the ill-natured Stories that were brought him of the Violences committed of late, either by the Justices of the Peace, or by the Clergy. He every where recommended to them the chusing such Parliament-Men, as would concur with him in settling this Liberty as firmly as the *Magna Charta* had been: And to this he never forgot to add the taking away the Tests. But he received such cold and general Answers, that he saw he could not depend on them. The King had designed to go through many more Places: But the small Success he had in those which he visited, made him shorten his Progress. He went and visited the Queen at the *Bath*, where he staid only a few Days, two or three at most: And she continued on in her Course of Bathing. Many Books were now writ for Liberty of Conscience: And, since all People saw what Security the Tests gave, these spoke of an Equivalent to be offered, that should give a further Security,

rity, beyond what could be pretended from the Tests. It was never explained what was meant by this; so it was thought an artificial Method to lay Men asleep with a high sounding Word. Some talked of new Laws to secure Civil Liberty, which had been so much shaken by the Practices of these last Years, ever since the *Oxford* Parliament. Upon this a very extravagant thing was given out, That the King was resolved to set up a sort of a Commonwealth: And the Papists began to talk every where very high for Publick Liberty, trying by that to recommend themselves to the Nation.

The Remarks which occur on the King's Progress, and what is politically subjoined to it, are the following: The King saw a visible Coldness in the Nobility and Gentry; and how could he see it, unless it had been visible? The King was particularly obliging to the Dissenters, and those who had passed for Commonwealth's-men: I suppose this was acquiesced in, because they had done him the particular Favour to cut off his Father's Head. The Queen, continued her Course of Bathing, at the *Bath*: 'Tis presumed for the Benefit of Royal Conception, it being the Annal preceding the Pretender's Birth; and *Bath*-Waters are powerful in these Cases. The King was resolved to set up a kind of Commonwealth: And I have read of a Story of a Grand Sultan, who intend-
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ed to renounce *Mahomet*, and turn Christian, notwithstanding he was circumcis'd.

What I come to next, is the Bishop's Account of the Queen's being with Child, and the Birth of the Pretender. I will set it down in his own Words. *Page 748.* he says, (being then abroad) I must now look back to *England*, where the Queen's Delivery was the Subject of all Men's Discourse. And since so much depends on this, I will give as full and as distinct an Account of all that related to that Matter, as I could gather up either at that time, or afterwards. The Queen had been for six or seven Years in such an ill State of Health, that every Winter brought her very near Death. Those about her seem'd well assured, that she, who had buried all her Children soon after they were born, and had now for several Years ceased bearing, would have no more Children. Her own Priests apprehended it, and seem'd to wish for her Death. She had great and frequent Distempers, that return'd often, which put all People out of their Hopes or Fears of her having any Children. Her Spirits were now much on the fret. She was eager in the Prosecution of all the King's Designs. It was believed, that she had a main hand in driving him to them all. And he, perhaps, to make her gentler to him in his vagrant Amours, was more easy to her in every thing else. The Lady *Dorchester* was come back from *Ireland*: And the

the King went oft to her. But it was visible, she was not like to gain that Credit in Affairs, to which she had aspired : And therefore this was less considered.

She had another Mortification, when *Fitz-James*, the King's Son, was made Duke of *Berwick*. He was a soft and harmless young Man, and was much beloved by the King : But the Queen's dislike kept him from making any great Figure. He made two Campaigns in *Hungary*, that were little to his Honour : For, as his Governour diverted the Allowance that was given for keeping a Table, and sent him always to eat at other Tables ; so, tho' in the Siege of *Buda*, there were many occasions given him to have distinguished himself, yet he had appeared in none of them. There was more Care taken of his Person, than became his Age and Condition. Yet his Governour's Brother was a Jesuit, and in the Secret. So every thing was ventured on by him, and all was forgiven him.

In *September*, the former Year (1687.) the Queen went to the *Bath*, where, as is already told, the King came, and saw her, and staid a few Days with her. She after that pursued a full Course of Bathing : And, having resolved to return in the end of *September*, an Accident took her, to which the Sex is subject, and that made her stay there a Week longer. She came to *Windsor* on the sixth of *October*. It was said, That, at
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the very time of her coming to the King, her Mother, the Dutchess of *Modena*, made a Vow to the Lady *Loretto*, that her Daughter might by her means have a Son. And it went current, that the Queen believed herself to be with Child in that very Instant, in which her Mother made her Vow : Of which, some Travellers have assured me, there was a solemn Record made at *Loretto*. A Conception, said to be thus begun, looked suspicious. It was now fixed to the sixth of *October* : So the nine Months were to run to the sixth of *July*. She was in the Progress of her big Belly let Blood several times : And the most astringent things that could be proposed were used.

It was soon observed, that all things about her Person were managed with a mysterious Secrecy, into which none were admitted but a few *Papists*. She was not dress'd nor undress'd with the usual Ceremony. Prince *George* told me, That the Princess went as far in desiring to be satisfy'd by feeling the Motion, after she said she was quick, as she could go without breaking with her : And she had sometimes stay'd by her, even indecently long in Mornings, to see her Rise, and to give her her Shift : But she never did either. She never offered any Satisfaction in that matter by Letter to the Princess of *Orange*, nor to any of the Ladies of Quality, in whose Word the World would have acquiesced. The Thing upon this began to be

be suspected: And some Libels were writ, treating the whole as an Imposture. The use the Queen made of this, was to say, That since she saw some were suspecting her as capable of so black a Contrivance, she scorned to satisfy those who could entertain such Thoughts of her. How just soever this might be with relation to the Libellers, yet certainly, if she was truly with Child, she owed it to the King and herself, to the King's Daughters, but most of all to the Infant she carried in her Belly, to give such reasonable Satisfaction, as might put an end to Jealousy. This was in her power to do every day: And her not doing it, gave just Grounds of Suspicion.

Things went thus on 'till *Monday* in *Easter Week*. On that day the King went to *Rocheſter*, to see some of the Naval Preparations; but was soon sent for by the Queen, who apprehended she was in danger of miscarrying. Dr. *Scarborough* was come to *Knightsbridge* to see Bishop *Ward*, who had been his antient Friend, and was then his Patient: But the Queen's Coach was sent to call him in all haste, since she was near miscarrying. Dr. *Windebank*, who knew nothing of this Matter, stay'd long that Morning upon an Appointment for Dr. *Wallgrave*, another of the Queen's Physicians, who the next time he saw him excused himself; for the Queen, *he said*, was then under the most apparent Signs of Miscarrying. Of this

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the Doctor made Oath: And it is yet extant.

On the same Day the Countess of *Clarendon*, being to go out of Town for a few Days, came to see the Queen before she went, knowing nothing of what had happen'd to her. And she, being a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to Queen Dowager, did, according to the Rule of the Court, go into the Queen's Bed-Chamber, without asking Admittance. She saw the Queen a-bed, bemoaning herself in a most doleful manner, saying often, *Undone, undone!* And one that belonged to her carried somewhat out of the Bed, which she believed was Linnen taken from the Queen. She was upon this in some Confusion: And the Countess of *Powis* coming in, went to her, and said with some sharpness, What do you here? And carried her to the Door. Before she had got out of the Court, one of the Bed-Chamber Women followed her, and charged her not to speak of any thing she had seen that Day. This Matter, whatever was in it, was hushed up: And the Queen held on her Course.

The Princess had Miscarried in the Spring. So, as soon as she had recovered her Strength, the King pressed her to go to the *Bath*, since that had so good an effect on the Queen. Some of her Physicians, and all her other Friends, were against her going. *Lower*, one of her Physicians, told me, he was against it: He thought, she was not strong enough
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for the *Bath*, tho' the King pressed it with an unusual Vehemence. *Millington*, another Physician, told the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, that he was pressed to go to the Princess, and advise her to go to the *Bath*. The Person that spoke to him, told him, the King was much set on it, and that he expected it of him, that he would persuade her to it. *Millington* answered, he would not advise a Patient according to Direction, but according to his own Reason : So he would not go. *Scarborough* and *Witherly* took it upon them to advise it : So she went thither in the end of *May*.

As soon as she was gone, those about the Queen did all of the sudden change her Reckoning, and began it from the King's being with her at *Bath*. This came on so quick, that, tho' the Queen had set the fourteenth of *June* for her going to *Windsor*, where she intended to lie in, and all the Preparations for the Birth, and for the Child, were ordered to be made ready by the end of *June* ; yet now a Resolution was taken for the Queen's Lying-in at St. *James's* ; and Directions were given to have all things quickly ready. The *Bath* Water either did not agree with the Princess ; or the Advices of her Friends were so pressing, who thought her Absence from the Court at that time of such Consequence, that in Compliance with them she gave it out it did not, and that therefore she would return in a few Days.

The Day after the Court had this Notice, the Queen said, she would go to *St. James's*, and look for the good Hour. She was often told, That it was impossible, upon so short a Warning, to have Things ready. But she was so positive, that she said, she would lie there that Night, tho' she should lie upon the Boards. And at Night, tho' the shorter and quicker way was to go from *Whiteball* to *St. James's* through the Park, and she always went that way; yet now, by a sort of Affectation, she would be carried thither by *Charing-Cross* thro' the *Pall-Mall*. And it was given out by all her Train, that she was going to be delivered. Some said, it would be next Morning: And the Priests said very confidently, that it would be a Boy.

The next Morning, about nine a Clock, she sent Word to the King, that she was in Labour. The Queen Dowager was next sent to. But no Ladies were sent for. So that no Women were in the Room, but two Dressers, and one Under-Dresser, and the Midwife. The Earl of *Arran* sent Notice to the Countess of *Sunderland*: So she came. The Lady *Bellasis* came also in time. The Protestant Ladies, that belong'd to the Court, were all gone to Church before the News was let go abroad: For it happen'd on *Trinity-Sunday*, it being that Year on the tenth of *June*. The King brought over with him from *Whiteball* a great many
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Peers and Privy-Counsellors. And of these Eighteen were let into the Bed-Chamber : But they stood at the furthest end of the Room. The Ladies stood within the Alcove. The Curtains of the Bed were drawn close, and none came within them, but the Midwife, and an Under-Dresser. The Queen lay all the while a-Bed : And, in order to the warming one side of it, a Warming-Pan was brought. But it was not open'd, that it might be seen that there was Fire, and nothing else in it : So here was Matter for Suspicion, with which all People were fill'd.

A little before ten, the Queen cried out as in a strong Pain, and immediately after the Midwife said aloud, she was happily brought to Bed. When the Lords all cried out of what, the Midwife answered, the Queen must not be surprized : Only she gave a Sign to the Countess of *Sunderland*, who upon that touched her Forehead, by which, it being the Sign before agreed on, the King said, he knew it was a Boy. No Cries were heard from the Child : Nor was it shewed to those in the Room. It was pretended, more Air was necessary. The Under-Dresser went out with the Child, or somewhat else, in her Arms, to a Dressing-Room, to which there was a Door near the Queen's Bed : But there was another Entry to it from other Apartments.

The King continued with the Lords in the Bed-Chamber for some Minutes, which
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was either a Sign of much Phlegm upon such an Occasion; for it was not known whether the Child was alive or dead: or it looked like the giving time for some Management. After a little while they went all into the Dressing-Room: And then the News was published. In the mean while, nobody was called to lay their Hands on the Queen's Belly, in order to a full Satisfaction. When the Princess came to Town three Days after, she had as little Satisfaction given her. *Chamberlain*, the Man-Midwife, who was always ordered to attend her Labour before, and who brought the Plaisters for putting back the Milk, wonder'd that he had not been sent to. He went, according to Custom, with the Plaisters: But he was told they had no occasion for him. He fancied, that some other Person was put in his place: But he could not find that any had it. All that concerned the Milk, or the Queen's Purgations, was managed still in the dark. This made all People inclined more and more to believe, there was a base Imposture now put on the Nation. That still increas'd. That Night one *Hemings*, a very worthy Man, an Apothecary by his Trade, who lived in *St. Martin's Lane*, the very next Door to a Family of an eminent Papist: (*Brown*, Brother to the Viscount *Montacute* lived there:) The Wall between his Parlour and theirs being so thin, that he could easily hear any thing that was said with

with a louder Voice, he (*Hemings*) was reading in his Parlour late at Night, when he heard one coming into the neighbouring Parlour, and say, with a doleful Voice, *The Prince of Wales is dead*: Upon which a great many, that lived in the House, came down Stairs very quick. Upon this Confusion he could not hear any thing more; but it was plain, they were in a great Consternation. He went with the News next Morning to the Bishops in the *Tower*. The Countess of *Clarendon* came thither soon after, and told them, She had been at the young Prince's Door, but was denied Access: She was amazed at it; and asked, if they knew her: They said, they did; but that the Queen had ordered, that no Person whatsoever should be suffered to come in to him. This gave Credit to *Hemings's* Story, and looked as if all was ordered to be kept shut up close, till another Child was found. One, that saw the Child two Days after, said to me, that he looked strong, and not like a Child so newly born. *Windebank* met *Walgrave* the Day after this Birth, and remembered him of what he had told him eight Weeks before. He acknowledged what he had said, but added, that God wrought Miracles: To which no Reply could, or durst be made by the other: It needed none. So healthy a Child being so little like any of those the Queen had born, it was given out, that he had Fits, and could not live. But
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those who saw him every Day observed no such thing : On the contrary, the Child was in a very prosperous State. None of those Fits ever happened when the Princess was at Court ; for she could not be denied Admittance, tho' all others were. So this was given out to make the Matter more credible. It is true, some Weeks after that, the Court being gone to *Windsor*, and the Child sent to *Richmond*, he fell into such Fits, that four Physicians were sent for. They all looked on him as a dying Child. The King and Queen were sent for. The Physicians went to a Dinner prepared for them, and were often wondering that they were not called for. They took it for granted, that the Child was dead. But, when they went in after Dinner to look on him, they saw a sound healthy Child, that seemed to have had no sort of Illness on him. It was said, that the Child was strangely revived of a sudden. Some of the Physicians told *Lloyd*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, that it was not possible for them to think it was the same Child ; they looked on one another, but durst not speak what they thought.

Thus the Bishop hath related such Particulars as he could gather of this Birth ; most of which, he says, he took from the Informations that were sent over to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*. He then says, that the Proof the King brought afterwards to put this Matter out of doubt, made

made it become more doubtful than ever. An Account of this follows in *pag.* 785. in these words: The Matter of the greatest Concern, and that could not be dropt, but was to be supported, was the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*. And therefore the Court thought it necessary, now in an After-Game, to offer some Satisfaction in that Point. So a great Meeting was called, not only of all the Privy-Counsellors and Judges, but of all the Nobility then in Town. To these the King complained of the great Injury that was done both him and the Queen by the Prince of *Orange*, who accused them of so black an Imposture: He said, he believed there were few Princes then alive, who had been born in the Presence of more Witnesses than were at his Son's Birth: He had therefore called them together, that they might hear the Proof of that Matter. It was first proved, that the Queen was delivered a-bed, while many were in the Room; and that they saw the Child soon after he was taken from the Queen by the Midwife. But in this the Midwife was the single Witness; for none of the Ladies had felt the Child in the Queen's Belly. The Countess of *Sunderland* did indeed depose, That the Queen called to her to give her her Hand, that she might feel how the Child lay, to which she added, Which I did; but did not say, whether she felt the Child, or not: And she told the Dutchess of *Hamil-*
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ton, from whom I had it, that when she put her Hand into the Bed, the Queen held it, and let her go no lower than her Breasts : So that really she felt nothing. And this Deposition, brought to make a Shew, was an Evidence against the Matter, rather than for it ; and was a violent Presumption of an Imposture, and of an Artifice to cover it. Many Ladies deposed, that they had often seen the Marks of Milk on the Queen's Linnen, near her Breasts. Two or three deposed, that they saw it running out at the Nipple. All these deposed, that they saw Milk before the pretended Delivery. But none of them deposed concerning Milk after the Delivery, tho' Nature sends it then in greater Abundance : And the Queen had it always in such a Plenty, that some Weeks passed after her Delivery, before she was quite freed from it. The Ladies did not name the Time in which they saw the Milk, except one, who named the Month of *May* : But, if the Particulars mentioned before, that happened on *Easter* Monday, are reflected on, and if it appears probable by these that the Queen miscarried at that time ; then all that the Ladies mentioned of Milk in her Breasts, particularly she that fixed it to the Month of *May*, might have followed upon that Miscarriage, and be no Proof concerning the late Birth. Mrs. *Pierce*, the Laundress, deposed, that she took Linnen from

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the Queen's Body once, which carried the Marks of a Delivery. But she spoke only to one Time. That was a main Circumstance. And, if it had been true, it must have been often done, and was capable of a more copious Proof, since there is Occasion for such things to be often looked on, and well considered. The Lady *Wentworth* was the single Witness that deposed, that she had felt the Child move in the Queen's Belly. She was a Bed-Chamber Woman, as well as a single Witness : And she fixed it on no Time. If it was early, she might have been mistaken : Or if it was before *Easter* Monday, it might be true, and yet have no Relation to this Birth. This (*says the Bishop*) was the Substance of this Evidence, which was ordered to be Enrolled and Printed. But, when it was published, it had a quite contrary Effect to what the Court expected from it. The Presumption of Law before this was all in favour of the Birth, since the Parents owned the Child : so that the Proof lay on the other Side, and ought to be offered by those who called it in question. But, now that this Proof was brought, which was so apparently defective, it did not lessen, but increase the Jealousy with which the Nation was possessed : For all People concluded, that if the thing had been true, it must have been easy to have brought a much more copious Proof than was now published to the World. It was much ob-

served that Princess *Anne* was not present. She indeed excused herself: She thought she was Breeding. And all Motion was forbidden her. None believed that to be the true Reason; for it was thought, that the going from one Appartment of the Court to another could not hurt her. So it was looked on as a Colour, that shewed she did not believe the Thing; and that therefore she would not, by her being present, seem to give any Credit to it.

This is the Bishop's full and distinct Account of every thing relating to the Pretender's Birth: And I hope I may claim the Privilege of making some Remarks upon it, (tho' not so many as the Subject would bear) without giving Offence to any; for none can give less Credit to the pretended Legitimacy of the Chevalier than myself: I have Abjured him; and will abide by it. I would fain be serious on this Head: But 'tis impossible. The Bishop has prevented it by the many little extraordinary Circumstances intermixed with his Relation. But I do not pretend to lay all the Inconsistencies of this long Account at the Historian's door; because he relates the Reports of others, and what they have given out, on which he builds his Observations. But I shall stick as closely as I can to his own Reflections, and endeavour to make them agree, or shew wherein they differ.

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And first, the Queen's Priests, it seems, apprehended that she would have no more Children, since she had hitherto buried all her Children soon after they were born, and had now ceased bearing for several Years: Here the Priests are brought in as Authorities for the Barrenness of the Queen ; as if they were so many Midwives, or had more to do with some Secrets than they ought. Next, the Queen was so eager in the Prosecution of the King's Designs, that she had not time to be got with Child : This is the first Instance I have met with, that Women are not always at leisure for the Business of the Creation.

The Duke of *Berwick* was a soft and harmless young Man, and much beloved by the King. Here is a fore Reflection on that Glorious Hero ; that he had not a great and rough Beard at a tender and unusual Age, to shew his great and unusual Courage ; and mark out the Signs of a General, whose Prowess is measured by the Length of his Beard——But he was much beloved by the King: And that was perhaps for his want of Beard.

An Accident took the Queen to which the Sex is subject, and retarded her Journey from the *Bath* to *London*: This is very decently expressed, where all Secrets were to be examined, and every Thing set in open View. It was said, that her Mother, the Dutchess of *Modena*, made a Vow to the
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Lady *Loretto*, that her Daughter might have a Son : But this is only, it was said ; but indeed some Travellers (no body knows who) assured the Bishop, there was a Record made of it at *Loretto*.

The Princess sometimes stay'd indecently long in the Mornings, to see the Queen rise, and to give her her Shift, in order to be satisfied : Now here the Princess was to have a large and full Prospect of the Queen's Person, backside and fore-side ; and both see and feel the Motion of the Infant : But this might be necessary to discover naked Truth. Tho' the Queen was so very obstinate as never to offer any Satisfaction in that way ; but despis'd those Persons who were only thus to be satisfied.

In *Easter Week* the Queen is said to have miscarried : Dr. *Wallgrave* having said, that she was then under the most apparent Signs of Miscarriage ; and the Countess of *Clarendon*, who made her an officious Visit, having observed something carried out of the Bed, which she believed was Linnen taken from the Queen : But could this Linnen contain nothing that comes from a Woman, but a Miscarriage ? This the Bishop should have told us. Then the Princess, she miscarried too ; and was pressed, pressed, and re-pressed, over and over again, to go to the *Bath*, to be out of the way, it seems, at the time of the Queen's Lying-in : Because Dr. *Scarborough* and Dr. *Witberly* advised it for her Health.

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Upon this, the Queen not only chang'd her Reckoning, but the intended place of her Lying-in ; which was a great Crime in her, because it was never known before that a Woman had been mistaken in her Reckoning, or had made any Alterations as to the Place intended for her laying down her great Belly.

Tho' the shorter and quicker way was to go from *Whitehall* to *St. James's* thro' the Park, and the Queen always went that way ; yet now she would be carried thither by *Charing-Cross* thro' the *Mall*. This, I presume, was politically concerted, to shew herself to the People, that they might be able to judge, she was not with Child, according to the Opinion of the Bishop, and some others ; and consequently, to give an honest Disbelief to all Reports of the Birth of the Pretender : For she was to be carried publicly, thro' the most publick part of the Town, for the View of the Populace.

The Priests said, the Child would be a Boy : A Report of this kind might proceed from the Knowledge and Intimations of the good old Women, who have great Skill and Understanding in these Affairs ; and can tell by the falling of a Cheek, as well as by the swelling of a Belly, and other Signs, without consulting the Stars, whether a Woman be pregnant with male Issue, or a female : 'Twas from these Women, I suppose, the Priests were furnished with Predictions
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of this kind : Or, perhaps, as they had been before complimented as Midwives, so here they might be very well rank'd amongst the number of old Women. No Ladies were sent for at the Labour : But some were there. And the Protestant Ladies, that belong'd to the Court, were all gone to Church before the News went abroad : Here is an Honour indeed to the Protestant Ladies, and to the Protestant Cause, that not one of them belonging to the Court would be absent from their Religion. But it was *Trinity-Sunday*. I say nothing of the Mysteries of that Day.

The King brought over with him from *Whitehall* a great many Peers and Privy-Counsellors. And of these eighteen were let into the Queen's Bed-Chamber : But they were plac'd at the further end of the Room. The eighteen Lords, I take it, were to have been ranged round the Bed, and been near and curious Spectators of the launching of the Child out of the Womb. By this means, the Counsellors would have been privy to all Affairs, and had full Satisfaction. The Warming-Pan was not opened, to see whether there were Fire in it, and nothing else : Who knows but there might be a spurious Infant lie under the Fire, (in case there was any) and nourish with its Heat.

A little before ten, the Queen cried out as in a strong Pain, and the Midwife proclaimed the Birth : But no Cries were heard from

from the Child. I presume this was the first Infant that came into the World with an intire Silence. The King continu'd with the Lords in the Bed-Chamber for some Minutes, which was either a Sign of much Phlegm, or it looked like the giving time for some Management : Here the King should have immediately withdrew, and left the whole number of Peers to inspect how Matters went. It seems no body was called to lay their Hands upon the Queen's Belly : I hope the Privy-Counsellors are not meant here, who are but ill Judges of these private Matters, tho' some of them might be well acquainted with such Parts as were to be examined.

One *Hemings*, an Apothecary, but a very worthy Man, who never sent any body out of the World designedly, heard thro' a Wall, that the Prince of *Wales* was dead : I suppose this would not be taken as Evidence in *Westminster-Hall*, or any other Courts of Judicature. 'Twas given out, the Child had Fits ; but it was a healthy strong Child ; and tho' he had not Fits, yet he had Fits to that degree that four Physicians were sent for : But not being call'd upon at the time they appointed, they went in, and saw another Child : Which other Child, was supposed to be put in the place of the first Child ; which first Child was a spurious Brat.

As to the Proofs for the pretended Legitimacy of this Child, I shall be short in my

Remarks ; because I think, as the Bishop does, that there is little or nothing in them. None of the Ladies felt this Child in the Belly : The Countess of *Sunderland* did not put her Hand low enough ; and, perhaps, others did not go high enough. There's a great deal said about Milk ; but none deposited concerning Milk after the Delivery ; (tho' Nature sends it then in greater abundance) and notwithstanding, the Queen had it always in such plenty, that some Weeks pass'd after her Delivery, before she was quite freed from it. The Bishop means here, I suppose, in her former Child-bearing ; tho' he has not express'd it. Linnen was taken from the Queen's Body with Marks of a Delivery ; but it was but once : It should have been oftener, and have had Marks, I presume, of further Deliveries. The Lady *Wentworth* felt a Child move in the Queen's Belly : But as the time is not mention'd when, it seems it might be the Miscarriage she felt move. It appears that there was but one Witness to any thing ; And the Queen should have shewn to the whole Court. But, perhaps, I am mistaken ; she was not to have done it.

These are the few humorous Remarks I have presumed to make on this extraordinary part of the Bishop's History : Which, after all, I cannot but think that the Historian had a very honest and good Meaning in it ; and therefore what I have observ'd may be judged

judged to be rather Mirth and Witticism, than substantial Observation. Be it construed as it will, I stand justify'd to my self: I design no Reflection on the present Administration, which I have sworn to defend, and which every honest Man ought to submit to ; nor no Favour to a Popish Pretender, endowed with all the Bigottry and slavish Tenets with which the whole Power of *Rome* could furnish him for his Conduct.

I have now gone through the Observations I propos'd on Bishop *Burnet's History of his own Times* ; and have been so favourable to this Right Reverend Writer, that I have made much fewer Remarks than his History would bear : It would fill no small Volume to point out all its Irregularities ; but the chief of them, I think, I have hit upon. But yet I am far from entirely condemning the Bishop, and heaping up every thing to his Dispraise : He has a great many good things in his History ; particularly the Character of King *Charles II.* is a beautiful Character ; but this must be said of it, that it has a great deal more Ingenuity than Candor and Integrity.

Whatever Opinion he conceiv'd of others, who acted in more exalted Stations, it is very certain he had a good one of himself. He thought himself of the greatest Consequence in the World. The important Words, *I did so and so, and I was so and so,*

So, are oftentimes repeated in his History. To enumerate a few of them : First, *I* had while I was young a greater Knowledge of Affairs than is usual. *I* fell into great Acquaintance and Friendships. *I* saw a great deal more than others. *I* have shewed this History to my Friends, and they highly approved it. *I* undertook to write a History of the Reformation. *I* carried Dr. *Stillington* to the Duke of *York*. *I* was offered Preferment. *I* was invited by the Prince and Princess of *Orange* to come to them. *I* was much trusted by them. *I* was forbid to see them. *I* was desired to go with the Prince. *I* persuaded Princess *Mary*. *I* must say something of myself.

These, with abundance other *I*'s, are interspersed in his History, to set out his All-sufficiency, and embellish his own dear Character ; but 'tis observable throughout his Characters, that others are no *I*'s. He likewise is very fond of the word *So* : So the nine Months were to run—So as soon as she had recovered—So he would not go—So pressing were her Friends—So here was Matter for Suspicion—So this was given out—So a great Meeting was called—So the Countess felt nothing—So that the Proof lay on the other Side—So it was looked on—With many other *So*'s are to be met with in one Story only. Then he is also in love with the material words

words *If so*, and *such a one said so*. But these are not Faults in an Historian.

I shall only make a Reflection or two on Historical Writers, and put a Period to my Remarks. A warm Party-Man is the most unfit Person in Life to write a History of Facts, where Parties are to be treated of. His Zeal for the Side he espouses will ever be top-heavy, and show itself in Circumstances and Things, which rather ridicule and injure the Party, than serve it ; (for a zealous Man will often say too much, more readily than too little.) And whereas by an ungovernable Passion against the opposite Side, as strong as his Zeal for his own, he runs Riot and Counter to all good Sense and good Manners, even so far that his History loses its Weight with all judicious and considerate Persons.

The Productions of such a Writer, tho' his Character and Genius be the greatest, cannot last long in Reputation, even with his own Party : The Men of Sense among them will soon give him up ; and it will not be in the power of others to support him. What I say here, is mentioned in general : And as to the Bishop (notwithstanding he declares against Parties) I must observe he is in some measure concerned, and that he quits the Historian when he becomes the Party-man.

would be to say and find a way to say it. But
 these are the hands in an illustration.
 I shall only make a Reflection on two or
 three of the most, and put a Period to my
 Remarks. A warm Party Man is the most
 dangerous in the world to write a History of
 his Party, whose Party are to be treated of.
 His Zeal for the Side he chooses will ever
 be too heavy, and show itself in Circum-
 stances and Things, which rather ridicule
 and injure the Party, than serve it; for a
 zealous Man will often say too much, more
 readily than too little. And whereas by
 an unmanageable Passion against the opposite
 Side, as strong as his Zeal for his own, he
 turns Riot and Contumelious to all good Men and
 good Manners, even to far that his History
 loses its Weight with all Judicious and con-
 siderate Persons.

The Productions of such a Writer, tho'
 his Character and Genius be the greatest,
 cannot last long in Reputation, even with
 his own Party: The Men of Sense among
 them will soon give him up; and it will not
 be in the power of others to support him.
 What I say here is mentioned in general:
 And as to the History (now writing) being
 a History of the English, I must observe, he
 is in the measure concerned, and that he
 must be impartial when he becomes the